

Message Text

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APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

AF:AMB. SCHAUFELLE

S/S-O:DLMACK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

S E C R E T STATE 010167

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, AO, OAU

SUBJECT: ANGOLA AND THE OAU SUMMIT

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE LEADERSHIP AND UNITY
DEMONSTRATED BY MODERATE AFRICAN STATES AT THE OAU
SUMMIT, BUT RECOGNIZE THEY WILL PROBABLY BE UNDER RENEWED
PRESSURE FROM PRO-MPLA RADICALS TO SHIFT THEIR POSITION
IN THE NAME OF OAU UNITY. WE ALSO ANTICIPATE THAT THE
RADICALS WILL PREFER TO BLAME US RATHER THAN AFRICAN
STATES FOR SPLIT AT THE OAU, THEREBY KEEPING DOOR OPEN TO
MODERATES TO "RETURN TO THE AFRICAN FOLD." SOME COUNTRIES,
HOWEVER, PARTICULARLY THOSE RECENTLY VISITED BY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE, MAY BE SINGLED OUT FOR ABUSE AS
"AMERICAN LACKEYS" WHO SPLIT THE OAU AT WASHINGTON'S

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BIDDING.

2. WE WILL NEED, THEREFORE, TO BE AS SUPPORTIVE OF OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS AS WE CAN IN THE COMING CRUCIAL WEEKS BUT WE WILL ALSO NEED TO DO SO DISCREETLY IN WAYS WHICH WILL NOT OVER-IDENTIFY THEM WITH US. RATHER THAN RELYING ON TOP-LEVEL CORRESPONDENCE THAT MAY LEAK, OR VISITS, AT LEAST AT THIS TIME BY HIGH US OFFICIALS, WE WILL LOOK TO

EACH OF YOU TO MAINTAIN A DISCREET DIALOGUE FOLLOWING UP ON THE OAU SUMMIT AND DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA.

3. IT WILL CLEARLY BE CRUCIAL IN THE COMING WEEKS THAT THE MODERATE STATES CONTINUE TO DISPLAY THE LEADERSHIP AND UNITY WHICH THEY DEMONSTRATED AT ADDIS. IF THIS IS TO TAKE PLACE, HOWEVER, A FEW KEY LEADERS WILL HAVE TO GET OUT IN FRONT AND KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON THE RADICALS. I WOULD HOPE THAT SENGHOR, KAUNDA, MOBUTU, AND HOUPHOUET BOIGNY IN PARTICULAR WILL KEEP ON TOP OF THE SITUATION TAKE ACTIVE STEPS TO PREVENT ANY DEFECTIONS TO THE RADICAL SIDE, AND USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO EMBARRASS THE RADICALS, WHOSE POSITION IS CERTAINLY VULNERABLE TO SYSTEMATIC EXPLOITATION.

4. AS A FIRST STEP, YOU SHOULD SEEK AN EARLY APPOINTMENT TO DISCUSS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE OAU WITH YOUR HOST'S HEAD OF STATE. YOU MAY SAY THAT YOU ARE AUTHORIZED BY THE PRESIDENT TO EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION AND ADMIRATION FOR HOST COUNTRY'S STATESMANSHIP AND EFFORTS TO REACH A REASONABLE SOLUTION AT ADDIS. YOU SHOULD EXPRESS OUR GRATIFICATION AT SEEING THE MODERATES OF AFRICA FOR ONCE SO UNITED AND EFFECTIVE IN DEFENSE OF THEIR PRINCIPLES, AND ARGUE THAT THE BATTLE IS ONLY JUST STARTING. NOW IT WILL BECOME EVEN MORE ESSENTIAL, BUT ALSO DIFFICULT FOR THE MODERATES TO ACT TOGETHER TO BLUNT PRO-MPLA EFFORTS TO GAIN RECOGNITION. YOU SHOULD ALSO ENCOURAGE YOUR HOST LEADERSHIP TO GO ON THE OFFENSIVE, USING THEIR PRESTIGE AND RESOURCES TO RALLY OAU MEMBERS IN SUPPORT OF A POLICY OF CONCILIATION.

5. YOU SHOULD ENCOURAGE HOST GOVERNMENT PRESIDENT TO
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DISCUSS OPTIONS FACING US ALL IN LIGHT OF OAU STANDOFF,
AND TRY AND ELICIT:

-- ANY PLAYBACK OF IMPRESSIONS FROM THE SUMMIT (INCLUDING WHO WERE THE MAIN DRIVING FORCE ON THE MPLA-SIDE, WHO WERE THE COMPROMISERS, WHAT WAS THE ROLE OF THE CUBANS, DID THE SOVIETS PLAY ANY ROLES)?

-- WHAT IS HOST GOVERNMENT'S ESTIMATE OF THE RECOGNITION SITUATION (STALEMATE, CONTINUED DANGER OF MORE RECOGNITIONS OF MPLA, LIKELIHOOD SOMEONE WILL RECOGNIZE THE "HUAMBO GOVERNMENT")?

-- ARE THERE ANY PLANS FOR FURTHER COORDINATION AMONG THE ANTI-MPLA GROUPING? WHAT IS MODERATES NEXT STEP?

-- ARE THERE ANY SPECIFIC STEPS WHICH HOST GOVERNMENT CAN SUGGEST WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN BY MODERATE AFRICAN STATES AND/OR BY US WHICH WOULD HELP BUILD PRESSURE FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOME FORM OF COMPROMISE COALITION.

6. YOU SHOULD ALSO USE OCCASION TO REAFFIRM THE MAIN LINES OF US POLICY (CEASE FIRE, WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE THE FACTIONS AND FORM A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY) AND SAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO DO WHATEVER IT CAN TO SEE THAT AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION ALONG THE ABOVE LINES EVENTUALLY EMERGES. YOU SHOULD DRAW UPON THE PERTINENT PARTS OF THE SECRETARY'S JANUARY 14 PRESS CONFERENCE (SENT BY SEPTTEL) AND PROVIDE A COPY TO THE HEAD OF STATE.

7. FOR KINSHASA: YOU MAY INFORM BULA THAT SECRETARY APPRECIATES HIS OFFER (BANGUI 56) TO MEET TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS AFTER OAU SUMMIT BUT HAS VERY TIGHT SCHEDULE IN COMING WEEKS INCLUDING VISIT TO MOSCOW. MOREOVER, WE FEAR THAT FACT OF MEETING WOULD INEVITABLY SURFACE, TO DAMAGE OF OUR COMMON INTERESTS. WE PREFER, THEREFORE, TO CONCERT OUR POLICIES IN LESS VISIBLE FASHION THROUGH MEETINGS WITH OUR AMBASSADORS. KISSINGER

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